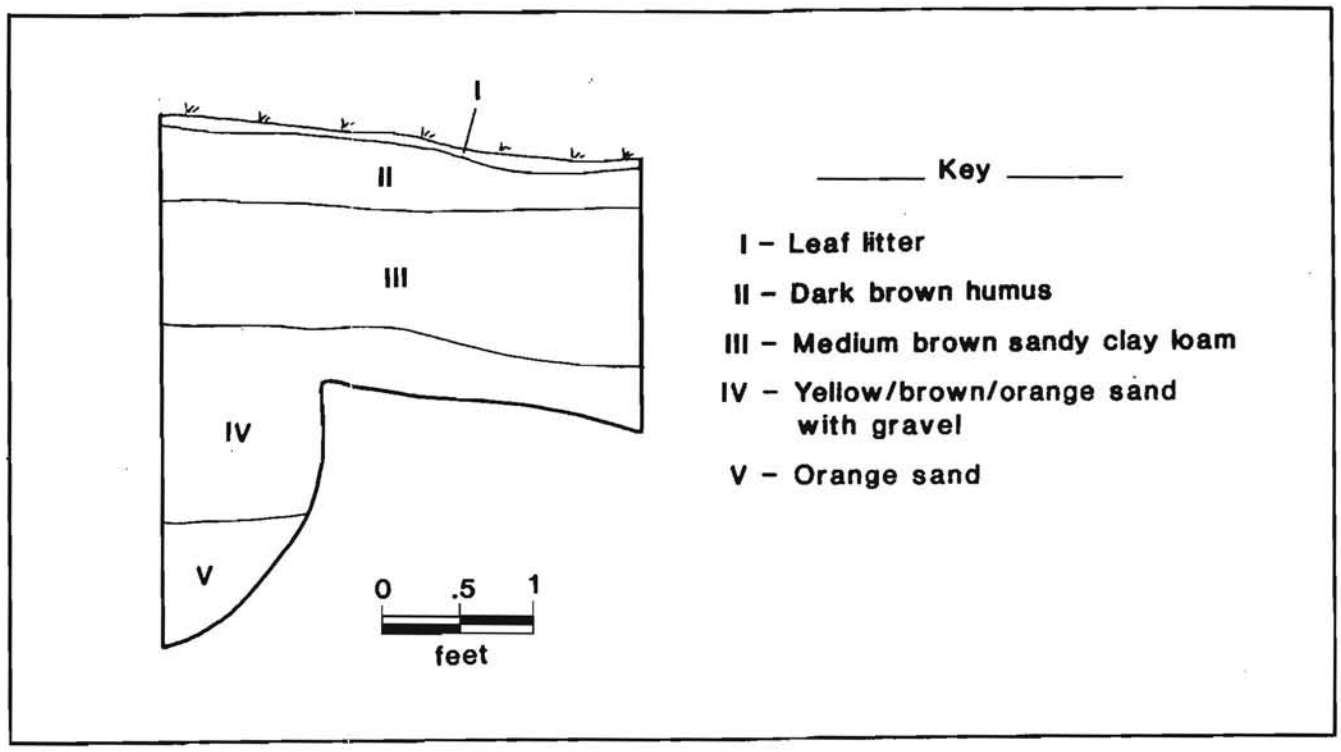
FIGURE 61

Profile of S93 W514.5 (Terrace)



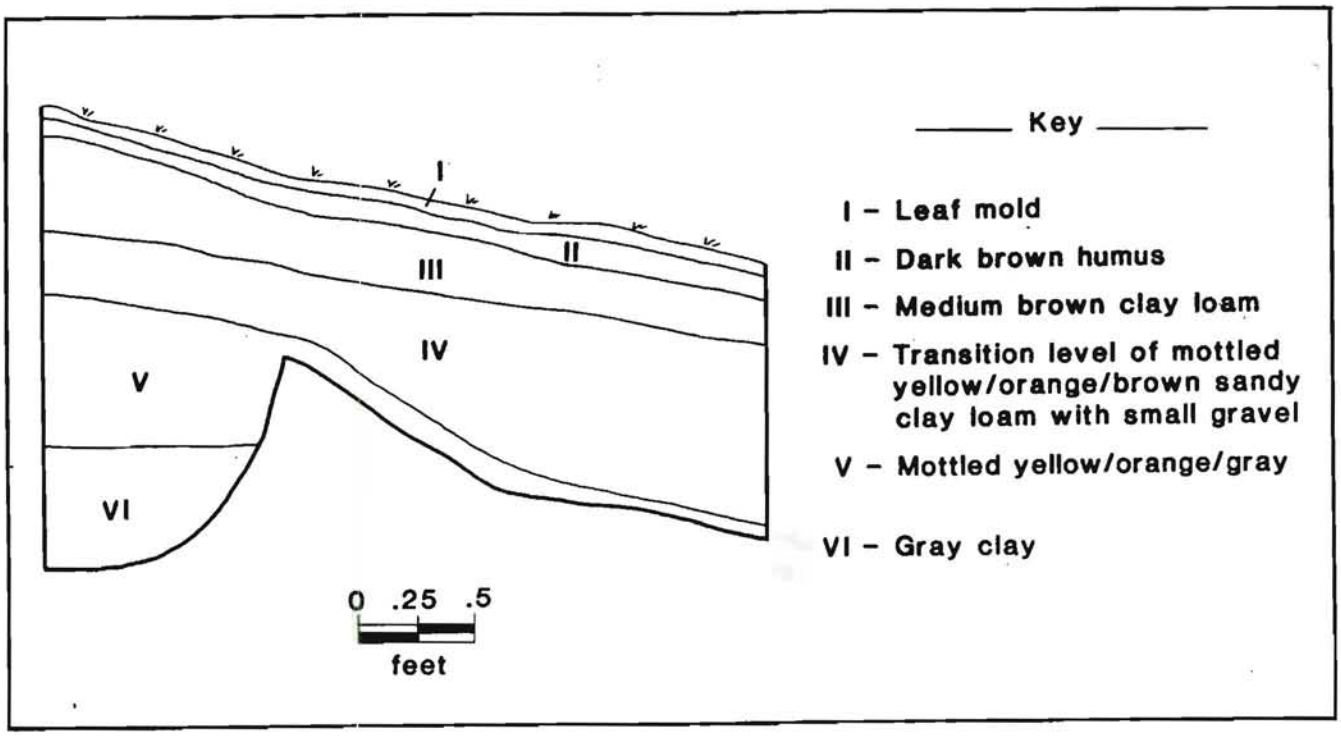
original DelDOT test units, exhibited similar profiles to those found by DelDOT and shown in Figure 63.

INTERSITE ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATIONS

The archaeological remains identified in the Patterson Lane Site Complex represent a wide and diverse range of temporal and functional site types. Intersite comparisons can best be made with the Dickson (I and II) occupations, and with the Heisler Tenancy Site, since these two were subjected to more intensive levels of artifact analysis. Several levels of intersite analysis were applied to these sites, including a comparison of architectural site dimensions for nine local sites, vessel function comparisons between sites, and economic scaling using

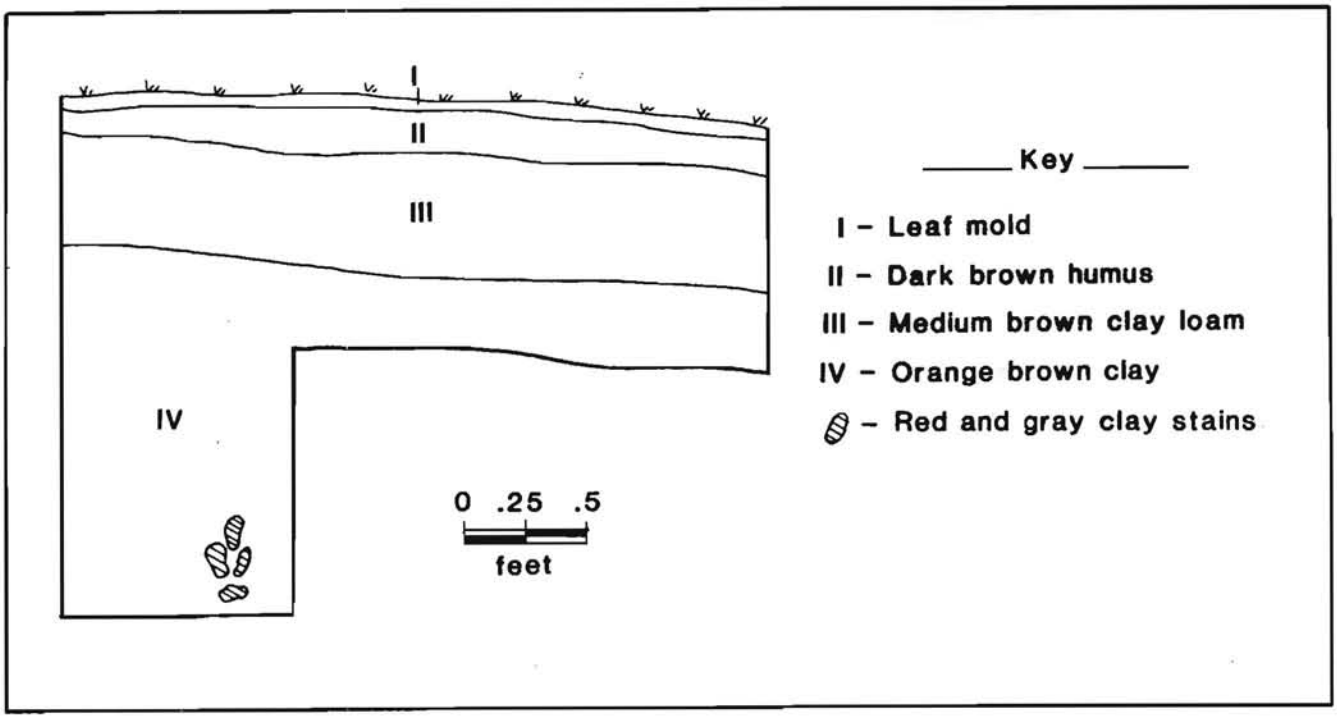
FIGURE 62

Profile of S146.5 W399 (Terrace)



the ceramic index (Miller 1980). Sites from the immediate vicinity, including the Charles Allen House, across the Christina River from Patterson Lane (Basalik et al. 1987), the Mendenhall Privy from Wilmington (Herman 1984), and the Whitten Road Site (Shaffer et al. 1988), as well as site locations from other regions (Morin, et al. 1986; Kelso 1984; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987) were examined in these comparisons. Temporal ranges were also included, particularly for the later tenant occupations at Dickson II and Heisler. Special attention was given to known black-occupied sites from the northeast for comparison to Dickson II, the documented black tenant occupation of the site. These other sites included Black Lucy's Garden (Baker 1980), Parting Ways (Deetz 1977), Weeksville (Bridges and

FIGURE 63
Profile of S20 W307 (Old Field)



Salwen 1980), and several areas from the rural black community of Skunk Hollow (Geismar 1982). Slave sites were also chosen, including North Quarter (Kelso 1984), and Cannon's Point (Otto 1984).

ARCHITECTURAL SITE DIMENSIONS

It has been demonstrated that tenant houses of the late eighteenth through nineteenth centuries were generally smaller in size, not as valuable, and less substantially constructed than the owner-occupied dwelling of the Lower Delaware Valley (Herman 1987a; 1987b; Stiverson 1977). Survival of these types of dwellings into the present day, however, has been infrequent, making their identification difficult. In many cases, these building types are difficult to distinguish from owner-occupied

dwellings. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, for example, Herman (1987b) has found that in southern Delaware, three quarters of the population resided in wooden, one-room dwellings averaging 18x20 feet (or 360 square feet of space). These tenant buildings, Herman continues, are virtually indistinguishable from poor to moderately well-off land owners. Similar situations exist in southwest New Jersey, where there seems to be no definable "tenant" house type, and in Queen Ann County, Maryland. The best generalization that can be arrived at is that tenant structures in the Lower Delaware Valley seem to range in size from about 380 square feet to 490 square feet (Herman 1987b). In regards to site layout, a further distinction between tenant sites and owner-occupied sites was the lack of outbuildings at the former sites.

The series of archaeological sites recently investigated in New Castle County can be of use to examine this issue of tenancy and housing. This is particularly important because the archaeological record can provide data about the living quarters and yard area landscapes of portions of the population that are no longer represented in the biased record of standing structures still existing on the landscape (Herman 1987a:112), particularly because these tenant dwellings were less substantially constructed or of a more impermanent nature. Table 23 presents a comparison of nine of these sites, showing the floor space available, including additions, as defined by the documentary record and the archaeological remains found at the site, and the approximate mean occupation date for the site. Several of the

TABLE 23

COMPARISON OF 1ST FLOOR DIMENSIONS FROM NINE NEW CASTLE COUNTY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

Site	Dimension	Area
Patterson Lane House (7NC-E-53) (Late Eighteenth - Late Nineteenth Centuries)	46 x 29	1334 sq. ft.
Charles Allen House (7NC-E-78) (circa 1840)	Front: 47 x 12 Ell: 32 x 23	564 736 1300 sq. ft.
W. M. Hawthorn (7NC-E-46) (circa 1840)	Log House: 29 x 21 Frame Ad.: 12 x 21 Frame Kn.: 12 x 17	609 252 204 1065 sq. ft.
Ferguson House (N-3902) (circa 1810)	West End: 16 x 24 Addition: 18 x 15	384 270 654 sq. ft.
Whitten Road (7NC-D-100) (circa 1795)	24 x 18	432 sq. ft.
Dickson II House (7NC-E-82) (circa 1880)	18 x 22	392 sq. ft.
Heisler Tenant House (7NC-E-83) (circa 1890)	12 x 21	252 sq. ft.
Grant Tenancy (7NC-B-6)	16 x 15.5	248 sq. ft.
Dickson I Structure (7NC-E-82) (circa 1810)	13 x 16	208 sq. ft.

KEY
Ad. - addition
Kn. - kitchen
sq. ft. - square feet

sites examined -- the Ferguson House (Coleman et al. 1983), the Whitten Road Site (Shaffer et al. 1988), the Grant Tenancy Site (Thompson 1987), and the Heisler Tenancy Site -- were primarily occupied as tenant structures. The remainder of the sample, -- the Charles Allen House (Basalik et al. 1987), the William

Hawthorn Site (Coleman et al. 1984), and the three sites from the Patterson Lane Site Complex (Dickson I, Dickson II, and the Patterson Lane House) -- functioned either as owner-occupied, specialized use, and/or tenant dwellings at some time in their histories. All of the dwellings used in this sample were in existence for at least 60 years, and most were occupied for over 100 years. With the exception of Dickson I, which dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century and was removed by circa 1845, all of these buildings were standing at the mid-point of the 19th century, and are thus contemporary with one another.

The sites shown on Table 23 break down into two significant groups -- those below about 450 feet in size, and those above that square footage. Herman (1987b) found that the dimension of 450 square feet is a convenient division between large and small housing stock, and that seems to be the case with the present sample. What is remarkable about this division is that, excluding the smallest structure, Dickson I (208 square feet), which had functioned specifically as a storehouse, the remainder of the dwellings under 450 square feet are all tenant houses. The 384 square foot portion of the Ferguson House should be included in this group as well. Also lacking from the tested yard areas of these sites were the presence of a great number of substantial outbuildings, with the exception of sheds. No barns, stables, or granaries were located during the testing at any of these sites, supporting Herman's (1987a) historically derived contention that tenant sites were devoid of outbuildings. The other structures were originally intended as owner-occupied dwellings, suggesting

that even without later additions these buildings were over 600 square feet in size.

By the time that the additions were added on to these larger owner-occupied dwellings in the second half of the nineteenth century, (even if by that time they were tenant structures themselves), the small size of contemporary tenant houses, such as Dickson II and Heisler, were clearly indicators of class and status within the community. This conclusion supports Herman's (1987a:162) statement that laborers from this period typically resided in smaller and less stylish dwellings than did farm managers and property owners. The case presented by the Dickson II and Heisler Tenant houses is interesting and also suggests a bias in this sample. It is documented that the occupants of the Dickson II house, the Walmsley family, moved from that dwelling to the Heisler Tenancy in 1887. From the dimensions shown on Table 23, it would appear that this was a shift from a 392 square foot home to a 252 square foot home, or a loss of 140 square feet of living space. But the dimensions given in Table 23 are only first floor dimensions: the shift to the Heisler Tenancy actually gained over 600 additional square feet in the second floor and cellar of the building, whereas the Dickson II house was only a 1 1/2 story frame house, with no cellar. This also suggests that the gross differences between owner-occupied and tenant dwellings apparent in Table 23 were probably even more obvious and immense, because owner-occupied structures were doubtless more often provided with second floors and cellars.

Thus, a rough ranking of these archaeologically-derived building dimensions would indicate that at the bottom of the

rural building stock were commercial structures, such as stores, which may have been under 250 square feet in size, closely followed by tenant and lower economic class dwellings ranging between 250 and approximately 450 square feet, and finally owner-occupied houses above 600 square feet. No comparison with more substantial urban buildings has been made, and this sample is not applicable to those structure types.

This sample also suggests that tenant dwellings can be archaeologically identified by their relatively small dimensions, generally under 450 square feet in size, and by the lack of additional structural evidence of substantial outbuildings at the site. This result is important on sites where the exact occupants, their social and/or economic status, cannot be derived from the historic record.

CERAMIC ECONOMIC SCALING ANALYSIS

Historical archaeologists generally agree that ceramics can be used to measure the relative economic value of a household assemblage, and therefore the economic status of the site's inhabitants (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). The most widely adopted method for measuring this value is currently the ceramic scaling index developed by George Miller (1980). Miller's scale is based on the index value assigned to certain types of refined wares at specific points in time, derived from the price fixing lists of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century English potteries. Each index value is expressed in relation to cc, or cream colored ware, the consistently least expensive ceramic type on the price lists. Miller's index for cc ware is 1.00 through time, and

values of the other ceramic decorative types are expressed in relation to the 1.00 index value of cc ware (see Miller 1980 for further discussion). Indices derived from the Miller analysis are calculated for minimum vessels in three categories: cups and saucers, plates, and bowls. Additionally, Klein and Garrow (1984), Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987), and others have calculated a mean index value, derived from the summation of the separate indices from the three categories (cups and saucers, plates, and bowls), divided by the total number of ceramic vessels used in the separate index calculations.

There are some difficulties in using the Miller Ceramic Index (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:131-135). First, index values are not available for many years in the nineteenth century, creating problems in the assigning of index values to ceramic types from sites that fall "in between" the years with indices. Most researchers have remedied this situation by extrapolating values from adjacent years, or by using the next closest available index value. Since archaeological sites are occupied over generally long time spans in relation to ceramic prices and production, this extrapolation is acceptable.

Secondly, Miller (1980) suggests the use of the site's MCD for establishing the index year values. Most historic archaeologists have done this (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987; Morin et al. 1986), but some have utilized Terminus Post Quem (TPQ) dates instead (Shepard 1987). Once again considering that MCDs only establish a mean date, and considering that index values must be adjusted under certain conditions, MCDs will be

used in this study. Finally, Miller has suggested (Morin et al. 1986: VI-46) that sites temporally separated by more than ten years should not be compared together because of what has been referred to as "index inflation" (LeeDecker et al. 1987).

The sites chosen for the Miller analysis of the Patterson Lane Site Complex are grouped around the mean occupation dates of each of the three sites in that Complex for which there are comparable data available, thus providing three separate comparisons over time. The Dickson I occupation has a mean occupation date and an MCD of approximately 1812, and sites ranging from 1792 to 1822 were chosen for comparison. These included three from the immediate vicinity: the Thomas Mendenhall site, which had an MCD of circa 1800 (Herman 1984; Dr. Bernard Herman, personal communication 1987), the Charles Allen House in Christiana Bridge, Delaware, which was contemporary with the Dickson I occupation (Basalik et al. 1987), and the Whitten Road site, a rural tenant site in White Clay Creek Hundred, about two miles from Christiana, had an MCD of about 1795 (Shaffer et al. 1988). Also compared to the Dickson I assemblage were two other contemporary sites from Wilmington, the Dr. Way/Retail Shop (Klein and Garrow 1984), and the John Richardson assemblage from Block 1101 (Lee Decker et al. 1987). Added to these were two assemblages from Cannon's Point, Georgia, consisting of the overseer's house, and planter's kitchen (Otto 1984), and a rural owner-occupied site in northern New Jersey, the Thomas Hamlin Site (Morin et al. 1986). Index values used for the assemblages, and for the Dickson I assemblage, were the 1814, and in some instances, the 1802 and 1824 indices. Index values for several

of these comparative sites were obtained from Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:72). The Miller index values computed for the Dickson I occupation are shown in Table 24.

The Heisler Tenacy Site, with an MCD of 1849.3, was compared to seven other sites with similar dates. These were the Jonathan Hale Cabin, from the Western reserve in Ohio (Miller and Hurry 1983), the John Hamlin assemblage (Morin et al. 1986), Moses Tabb's tenant site in St. Mary's County, Maryland (Miller 1980), Black Lucy's Garden, a free black site in Massachusetts (Baker 1980), the Green Mansion site in Windsor, Vermont (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987), the workers house at the Franklin Glass Works, in Ohio (Miller 1980), and the commercial site of the Dowdall Bottling Company, in Wilmington (Klein and Garrow 1984). Table 25 shows the results of the Miller scaling for the Heisler Tenancy artifacts.

The final comparison was made with the Dickson II ceramic assemblage, and four black-occupied sites from the Skunk Hollow area in New Jersey were chosen (Geismar 1982). All four of the site areas chosen were contemporary with the Dickson II assemblage, which had a mean occupation date of approximately 1882. This comparison thus can provide an inter-regional comparison of free black sites in the Middle Atlantic. Data for the Skunk Hollow assemblages was obtained from Geismar (1982:186). Table 26 shows the Miller values for the Dickson II assemblage.

Table 27 presents the results, in the four categories of cups and saucers, plates, and bowls, and an overall index, of the

TABLE 24

DICKSON I OCCUPATION (7NC-E-82), MILLER INDEX VALUES

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	= value
52,53,55,57, 58,59,61,64, 68,69,70,189	2	1.33	x	12	= 15.96
51,158	2	1.40	x	2	= 2.8
60,66	2	1.29	x	2	= 2.58
84,85,126, 127,184,202, 204,205,206, 207,208,214, 218,233,236, 242,244,245	1	1.00	x	18	= 18.0
				34 plates	= 39.34

Average Total Values $\frac{39.34}{34} = 1.16$

NOTE:

Occupation dates ca. 1780-1830
Mean ceramic date - 1814
Index date used - 1814
Vessel form - plates

TABLE 24 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
19	13	2.17	x	1	=	2.17
22,222,223 226,227,228	13	1.50	x	6	=	9.0
25,50,72,81, 87,93,95,96, 109,156,165, 167,168,171, 175,174,192, 195,221, 224 a and b	13	1.44	x	21	=	30.24
29,33,34,38, 44,45,46,47	15	3.00	x	8	=	24.0
41,302	11	1.44	x	2	=	2.88
182,188,193, 194,203,229, 289,257,307, 216,219,299	10	1.00	x	12	=	12.0
210	10	1.67	x	1	=	1.67
262,263,265, 268,392	31	1.44	x	5	=	7.2
		56 plates				89.16

Average Total Value $\frac{89.16}{56} = 1.60$

NOTE:

Occupation dates ca. 1780-1830
Mean ceramic date - 1814
Index dates used - 1814, 1824, 1802
Vessel form - cups

TABLE 24 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
23,24,262, 749,51,73, 79,88,91, 153,197,154, 162,164,161, 232,272	22	1.60	x	18	=	28.8
30,42	25	2.80	x	2	=	5.6
155	24	1.60	x	1	=	1.60
213,215,255, 246,259,266, 267	20	1.00	x	7	=	7.0
		28 Bowls				43.0

Average Total Value $\frac{43.0}{28} = 1.53$

NOTE:

Occupation dates ca. 1780-1830
Mean ceramic date - 1814
Index date used - 1814
Vessel form - bowls

TABLE 24 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
28,43	33	3.00	x	2	=	6.0
65,76,78,79, 80,94,98, 157,166,170, 172,176,199, 261,276,304	31	1.50	x	16	=	24.0
100,104,115, 169,185,200, 209,217	29	1.00	x	8	=	8.0
		26 saucers				38.0

Average Total Value $\frac{38.0}{26} = 1.46$

NOTE:
Occupation dates ca. 1780-1830
Mean ceramic date - 1814
Index date used - 1814
Vessel form - saucers

Miller Ceramic Index comparison for the Dickson I assemblage. All of the values for Dickson I are fairly low, though the bowl index, with a range of 1.00 to 2.53, places Dickson I quite high at 1.53. Overall, Dickson I falls below the middle of the ranking, with a 1.45, and most of the rural Delaware sites are ranked closely around this value. This ranking suggests that William Dickson, the store keeper at the site, supplied ceramics to a clientele of the "lower to middling sort". The urban sites of Richardson and Dr. Way are consistently high, as are the values for the Cannon's Point Planter. The bowl category is an exception to this observation, which probably reflects the dietary patterns of these households; i.e., fewer stews and potted meals than the other less affluent households shown in

TABLE 25

HEISLER TENANCY SITE (7NC-E-83),
MILLER INDEX VALUES

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
1,47	6	1.60	x	2	=	3.20
12,14,158, 203,205,206, 207,209,210, 212,213,215, 216,217,219, 221,227-228, 229,232,239, 252,254,255, 257,262	1	1.00	x	29	=	29.0
15,20,43,57, 75,76,109, 110,114,122, 152	7	1.50	x	11	=	16.50
16,256,260	5	1.78	x	3	=	5.34
33,37,174, 175,177,178, 179,180-201	2	1.25	x	36	=	45.0
35	3	1.20	x	1	=	1.20
80	8	2.25	x	1	=	2.25
118,149	4	2.36	x	2	=	4.72
				85 plates		107.21

Totals
Average Values $\frac{107.21}{85} = 1.26$

NOTE:
Occupation dates ca. 1830-1870
Mean ceramic data - 1855
Index dats used - 1855, 1838, 1858

TABLE 25 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value x	# of v. recovered	= Value
18,27,28,30, 34,36,85,40, 42,65,58,66, 134,136,87,144, 153,159,160, 172,162,169, 170,171	13	1.60 x	24	= 38.4
103,104,105, 106,107,218, 225,226,231, 236,237,238, 243,249,250, 251	10	1.00 x	16	= 16.0
137,161,248	14	3.60 x	3	= 10.8
44,46,50,84, 63,145,73,49, 163,168,167, 202	15	4.20 x	12	= 50.4
		55 cups		115.6

Average Value $\frac{115.6}{55} = 2.10$

NOTE:

Occupation dates ca. - 1830-1870
Mean ceramic date - 1855
Index dates used - 1856, 1858
Vessesl form - cups

TABLE 25 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
4,5,8,13,21, 23,31,38,61, 83,174,222	22	1.30	x	12	=	15.6
9,55,223,204, 214,230,258	27	2.00	x	7	=	14.0
17,56,72,95, 208,211,166, 224,233-235, 240,245,246, 247,253	20	1.00	x	16	=	32.0
22,26,54,69, 70,81.82,111, 132	24	1.10	x	9	=	9.9
29,32,49,60,68, 74,108,220	25	2.00	x	8	=	16.0
78	26	2.40	x	1	=	2.40
25,41,112,115, 117,151,173	21	1.10	x	7	=	7.7
		60 bowls				97.6

Average Value $\frac{97.6}{60} = 1.63$

NOTE:

Occupation dates ca. - 1830-1870
Mean ceramic date - 1855
Index dates used - 1855, 1858
Vessel form - bowls

TABLE 25 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
7	29	1.00	x	1	=	1.00
39,164	31	1.23	x	2	=	2.46
93,94	32	3.60	x	2	=	7.20
45,52,53,48, 59,64,67,86, 71,77,165	33	2.45	x	11	=	26.95
78,79,142	34	1.60	x	3	=	4.8
				19 saucers		42.41

Average Value $\frac{42.41}{19} = 2.23$

NOTE:
Occupation dates ca. - 1830-1870
Mean ceramic date - 1855
Index dates used - 1846, 1856
Vessel form - saucers

this ranking. The rural Delaware sites are consistently low ranking in nearly every category and this is particularly apparent with the Whitten Road Site. Not surprisingly, the Thomas Mendenhall Site is also low in the ranking. Herman (1984) postulates that Mendenhall met with economic adversity about this time period. The high index values for the Wilmington sites may indicate that those households enjoyed greater availability and a wider selection of ceramic types, and may not necessarily imply higher social ranking. A number of researchers have noted that access to markets is an important factor in considering ceramic availability (Miller and Hurry 1983; Morin et al. 1986; Riordan and Adams 1985; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:179). However, there are several notable breaks in the ranking, which seem to group

TABLE 26

DICKSON II OCCUPATION (7NC-E-82), MILLER INDEX VALUES

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
112,116,119 248	1	1.00	x	4	=	4.00
56,62,67 71	2	1.00	x	4	=	4.00
		8 plates				8.00

Average Total $\frac{8.00}{8}=1$

NOTE:
Occupation dates ca. 1850-1900
Mean ceramic date - 1872
Index dates used - 1874, 1862
Vessel form - plates

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
36,269,270	1.17	1.17	x	3	=	3.51
		3 saucers				3.00

Average Total $\frac{3.51}{3}=1.17$

NOTE:
Occupation dates ca. 1850-1890
Mean ceramic date - 1872
Index dates used - 1875
Vessel form - sacuers

TABLE 26 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
87,92,86,74 260,291,271	22	1.30	x	7	=	9.1
298	24	1.10	x	1	=	1.10
37	25	2.00	x	1	=	2.00
235	20	1.00	x	1	=	1.00
160	26	2.40	x	1	=	2.40
		11 bowls				15.6

Average Total $\frac{15.6}{11}=1.42$

NOTE:
Occupation dates ca. 1850-1890
Mean ceramic date - 1872
Index dates used - 1855, 1858
Vessel form - sacuers

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
32	11	1.17	x	1	=	1.17
75,77,159 258	13	1.17	x	4	=	4.68
35,40,180 305,306	15	4.00	x	5	=	20.0
		10 cups				25.85

Average Total $\frac{25.85}{10}=2.6$

NOTE:
Occupation dates ca. 1850-1890
Mean ceramic date - 1872
Index dates used - 1875, 1857, 1860, 1856
Vessel form - sacuers

TABLE 27

DICKSON I OCCUPATION (7NC-E-82), MILLER INDICES COMPARISON

PATTERSON LANE COMPLEX MILLER INDEX

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
WHITTEN ROAD, NCC	1.54	1.20	1.00	1.22
DICKSON I, CHRISTIANA	1.55	1.16	1.53	1.45
T. MENDENHALL, WILMINGTON	1.66	1.06	1.25	1.39
T. HAMLIN, NJ	1.67	1.19	2.14	1.68
CANNON'S POINT, OVERSEER, GA	2.24	1.99	1.23	1.94
C. ALLEN, CHRISTIANA	2.37	1.35	1.45	1.58
CANNON'S POINT, PLANTER, GA	2.78	2.69	1.23	2.63
DR. WAY/RETAIL, WILMINGTON	3.29	1.45	1.38	2.25
JOHN RICHARDSON, WILMINGTON	3.40	1.93	2.53	2.15

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
T. MENDENHALL, WILMINGTON	1.66	1.06	1.25	1.39
DICKSON I, CHRISTIANA	1.55	1.16	1.53	1.45
T. HAMLIN, NJ	1.67	1.19	2.14	1.68
WHITTEN ROAD, NCC	1.54	1.20	1.00	1.22
C. ALLEN, CHRISTIANA	2.37	1.35	1.45	1.58
DR. WAY/RETAIL, WILMINGTON	3.29	1.45	1.38	2.25
JOHN RICHARDSON, WILMINGTON	3.40	1.93	2.53	2.15
CANNON'S POINT, OVERSEER, GA	2.24	1.99	1.23	1.94
CANNON'S POINT, PLANTER, GA	2.78	2.69	1.23	2.63

TABEL 27 (cont.)

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
WHITTEN ROAD, NCC	1.54	1.20	1.00	1.22
DICKSON I, CHRISTIANA	1.55	1.16	1.53	1.45
CANNON'S POINT, PLANTER, GA	2.78	2.69	1.23	2.63
CANNON'S POINT, OVERSEER, GA	2.24	1.99	1.23	1.94
T. MENDENHALL, WILMINGTON	1.66	1.06	1.25	1.39
DR. WAY/RETAIL, WILMINGTON	3.29	1.45	1.38	2.25
C. ALLEN, CHRISTIANA	2.37	1.35	1.45	1.58
T. HAMLIN, NJ	1.67	1.19	2.14	1.68
JOHN RICHARDSON, WILMINGTON	3.40	1.93	2.53	2.15

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
WHITTEN ROAD, NCC	1.54	1.20	1.00	1.22
T. MENDENHALL, WILMINGTON	1.66	1.06	1.25	1.39
DICKSON I, CHRISTIANA	1.55	1.16	1.53	1.45
C. ALLEN, CHRISTIANA	2.37	1.35	1.45	1.58
T. HAMLIN, NJ	1.67	1.19	2.14	1.68
CANNON'S POINT, OVERSEER, GA	2.24	1.99	1.23	1.94
JOHN RICHARDSON, WILMINGTON	3.40	1.93	2.53	2.15
DR. WAY/RETAIL, WILMINGTON	3.29	1.45	1.38	2.25
CANNON'S POINT, PLANTER, GA	2.78	2.69	1.23	2.63

TABLE 28

HEISLER TENANCY SITE (7NC-E-83),
MILLER INDICES COMPARISON

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
MOSES TABB, MD	1.44	1.46	1.29	1.42
J. HALE, OH	1.45	1.23	1.36	1.34
J. HAMLIN, NJ	1.50	1.31	1.86	1.45
BLACK LUCY'S GARDEN, MASS.	1.68	1.61	1.24	1.53
DOWDALL BOTTLING CO., WILMINGTON	2.11	2.11	1.80	2.00
HEISLER TENANCY, CHRISTIANA	2.13	1.26	1.63	1.65
FRANKLIN GLASS WORKS, HOUSE, OH	2.15	1.86	1.54	1.90
GREEN, VERMONT	3.04	1.83	1.59	2.29

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
J. HALE, OH	1.45	1.23	1.36	1.34
HEISLER TENANCY, CHRISTIANA	2.13	1.26	1.63	1.65
J. HAMLIN, NJ	1.50	1.31	1.86	1.45
MOSES TABB, MD	1.44	1.46	1.29	1.42
BLACK LUCY'S GARDEN, MASS.	1.68	1.61	1.24	1.53
GREEN, VERMONT	3.04	1.83	1.59	2.29
FRANKLIN GLASS WORKS, HOUSE, OH	2.15	1.86	1.54	1.90
DOWDALL BOTTLING CO., WILMINGTON	2.11	2.11	1.80	2.00

assemblages according to their economic status. This is most obvious in the cup and saucer category, where three groupings can be seen: from 1.54 to 1.67 (including Whitten, Dickson, Mendenhall, and Thomas Hamlin) from 2.24 to 2.78 (including the Cannon's Point Overseer, Charles Allen, and the Cannon's Point Planter) and from 3.29 to 3.40 (containing Dr. Way and John Richardson). Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:79) have demonstrated that the cup and saucer index is an accurate reflection of the economic ranking of the site's inhabitants, and these groupings, though admittedly subjective, would seem to reflect that conclusion.

Table 28 presents the comparison of the Miller Ceramic Index for the Heisler Tenancy. The results of the comparison are not surprising. In the important cup and saucer index, Heisler (2.13) ranks closely with the Franklin Glass Workers house (2.15), and with the Dowdall Bottling Site (2.11), definitely representative of lower to middle economic status. The wealthiest of the sites, the Green family from Vermont, is consistently highly ranked, except in the bowl category, which again reflects dietary patterns. As with the Dickson I comparison, this ranking indicates that the use of the cup and saucer indices is reflective of the overall scaling of the site. Groupings of similar status are also apparent, but perhaps less defined. For example, in the overall index category the bottom of the scale blends somewhat ranging from 1.34 to 1.65, but the middle and upper ends of the ranking are obvious, with the Glass Works and Dowdall Bottling in the middle (1.90 to 2.00), and the Green Mansion at the top (2.29).

TABLE 28 (cont.)

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
BLACK LUCY'S GARDEN, MASS.	1.68	1.61	1.24	1.53
MOSES TABB, MD	1.44	1.46	1.29	1.42
J. HALE, OH	1.45	1.23	1.36	1.34
FRANKLIN GLASS WORKS, HOUSE, OH	2.15	1.86	1.54	1.90
GREEN, VERMONT	3.04	1.83	1.59	2.29
HEISLER TENANCY, CHRISTIANA	2.13	1.26	1.63	1.65
DOWDALL BOTTLING CO., WILMINGTON	2.11	2.11	1.80	2.00
J. HAMLIN, NJ	1.50	1.31	1.86	1.45

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
J. HALE, OH	1.45	1.23	1.36	1.34
MOSES TABB, MD	1.44	1.46	1.29	1.42
J. HAMLIN, NJ	1.50	1.31	1.86	1.45
BLACK LUCY'S GARDEN, MASS.	1.68	1.61	1.24	1.53
HEISLER TENANCY, CHRISTIANA	2.13	1.26	1.63	1.65
FRANKLIN GLASS WORKS, HOUSE, OH	2.15	1.86	1.54	1.90
DOWDALL BOTTLING CO., WILMINGTON	2.11	2.11	1.80	2.00
GREEN, VERMONT	3.04	1.83	1.59	2.29

This grouping of sites also raises a concern about the usefulness of the index when used as the sole indicator of status. There is a grouping of similar sites at the bottom of the ranking, including the Hamlin, Tabb, Hale, and Black Lucy assemblages, but there has been some discussion as to whether Hale, an isolated frontier landholder, is really economically similar to John Hamlin, a northern New Jersey, non-isolated farmer (Miller and Hurry 1983; Morin et al. 1986). The controversy suggests that personal preference in ceramic choices and consumer behavior, cannot be factored out of the Miller ceramic analyses, and historic information about a site is necessary to correctly interpret a site's economic standing.

The results of the comparison of the Dickson II assemblage with the Skunk Hollow sites is shown in Table 29. These results are most interesting, showing that Dickson II ranked consistently in the middle of these other black-occupied sites. On the cup and saucer scale, Skunk Hollow Area D is ranked the highest, and this reverses slightly in the overall category with Skunk Hollow Area A ranked highest. A possible upper economic grouping of Dickson II (2.25), Skunk Hollow A (2.36) and Skunk Hollow D (2.75), and a lower economic grouping of Skunk Hollow Areas C (1.00) and B (1.88), are suggested by the results of the cup and saucer ranking. This ranking changes, however, in the overall scaling category, with Areas C and D at the bottom (1.45 to 1.57), Dickson II and Area B in the middle (1.65, 1.66), and Skunk Hollow Area A clearly at the top (2.14). These differences could have several explanations, including vagaries in sample sizes for the Skunk Hollow ceramic assemblages, the ethnic

TABLE 29

DICKSON II OCCUPATION (7NC-E-82),
MILLER INDICES COMPARISON

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
SKUNK HOLLOW C, NJ	1.00	1.83	1.67	1.45
SKUNK HOLLOW B, NJ	1.88	1.55	1.67	1.66
DICKSON II, CHRISTIANA	2.25	1.00	1.42	1.65
SKUNK HOLLOW A, NJ	2.36	2.36	1.80	2.14
SKUNK HOLLOW D, NJ	2.75	1.52	1.00	1.57

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
DICKSON II, CHRISTIANA	2.25	1.00	1.42	1.65
SKUNK HOLLOW D, NJ	2.75	1.52	1.00	1.57
SKUNK HOLLOW B, NJ	1.88	1.55	1.67	1.66
SKUNK HOLLOW C, NJ	1.00	1.83	1.67	1.45
SKUNK HOLLOW A, NJ	2.36	2.36	1.80	2.14

TABLE 29 (cont.)

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
SKUNK HOLLOW D, NJ	2.75	1.52	1.00	1.57
DICKSON II, CHRISTIANA	2.25	1.00	1.42	1.65
SKUNK HOLLOW B, NJ	1.88	1.55	1.67	1.66
SKUNK HOLLOW C, NJ	1.00	1.83	1.67	1.45
SKUNK HOLLOW A, NJ	2.36	2.36	1.80	2.14

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
SKUNK HOLLOW C, NJ	1.00	1.83	1.67	1.45
SKUNK HOLLOW D, NJ	2.75	1.52	1.00	1.57
DICKSON II, CHRISTIANA	2.25	1.00	1.42	1.65
SKUNK HOLLOW B, NJ	1.88	1.55	1.67	1.66
SKUNK HOLLOW A, NJ	2.36	2.36	1.80	2.14

backgrounds of the site's inhabitants, and personal preferences in ceramic consumption at the sites. Since these sites are contemporary with one another, it does suggest that perhaps the use of the cup and saucer index as a reflection of overall

economic site status, shown by Spencer-Wood (1987) to be reliable, may be less so for later periods of the nineteenth century.

VESSEL FUNCTION ANALYSIS

Two different levels of vessel comparisons were conducted on the Patterson Lane Site Complex assemblages. Comparisons of proportions of flatwares vs. hollowwares, preparation and storage vessels vs. serving vessels, and cups vs. mugs and jugs were performed on the Dickson I, Dickson II, and Heisler Sites. The goal of the comparisons was to compare and contrast the Patterson Lane Site Complex assemblages with general trends and characteristics of vessel use and function as identified by Otto (1984), and further defined by Kelso (1984) and others. These studies analyzed vessel form frequencies in order to identify differences in lifestyles between social and economic classes through space and time (Kelso 1984). At most residential sites, the flatware/hollowware ratio is indicative of food consumption and dietary patterns, with an abundance of flatwares suggestive of roast prime meat cuts, and more hollowware forms indicative of consumption of stews or porridges by the site's inhabitants. In this comparison, then, a higher percentage of flatwares is assumed to represent a higher social or economic status for the site's inhabitants. Additionally, analyses of tablewares, drinking wares, food preparation and storage wares, medicinal wares, and other wares were also accomplished. The three Patterson Lane Complex Sites were then compared to local and regional historic archaeological sites which had similar

occupation dates, similar functions, or occupants of similar ethnic groups. Several of the comparisons are incomplete due to the fact that many of the sites used in the study did not have comparable artifact information in both levels of analysis. Sites chosen for use in these analyses included several from the Kingsmill excavations (Kelso 1984), the Cannon's Point Sites (Otto 1984), the Allen House (Basalik et al. 1987), Whitten Road (Shaffer et al. 1988), four areas from Skunk Hollow (Geismar 1982), Afro-American sites from the Weeksville investigations, Weeksville A dating from 1835 to 1875, and Weeksville B, dating from 1875 to 1900 (Bridges and Salwen 1980), the free black settlement at Parting Ways (Deetz 1977), and Black Lucy's Garden (Baker 1980). The results of both of these levels of investigation, coupled with the Miller Ceramic Index rankings, can provide data important in arriving at useful interpretations and conclusion for the Patterson Lane Site Complex. A number of questions can be addressed by these comparisons, dealing both with the Dickson I store assemblage and its relation to domestic sites, and the Heisler and Dickson II Tenant Sites, their similarities and differences both between each other and among other related sites, particularly from a black historical perspective.

Research into consumer behavior and archaeology is receiving considerable attention (Spencer-Wood 1987), and the Dickson I assemblage can be used to examine the interactions between the availability and usage of historic ceramics. The Miller analysis has demonstrated the relative ranking of Dickson I is the social

fabric of the region; but that is based only on refined earthenwares, not the full ceramic assemblage. In some respects, it is assumed that the Dickson I assemblage will not be similar at all to the domestic sites which will be compared. As a storehouse occupation, percentages of chamberwares and other medicinal wares should be low, but it is expected that other categories of ceramics, such as dining, drinking, hollowwares and flatwares, should be on par with "middling" domestic sites, such as Whitten Road, the Allen House, and the Cannon's Point overseer's house. These are all fairly contemporary sites with Dickson I, but sites such as the Heisler Tenancy may also be similar, because stores such as Dickson's continued to supply ceramics to historic sites throughout the nineteenth century.

Several reseachers from Afro-American sites (Deetz 1977; Otto 1984; Baker 1980) have suggested that a distinctive pattern discernible at black sites, slave or free, is the presence of serving bowls exceeding 40% of the artifact assemblage, as concluded from the investigations at Parting Ways, Cannon's Point, and Black Lucy's Garden. However, this pattern has been questioned and refuted by Geismar's (1982:155) work at Skunk Hollow along with the implication that such an artifact pattern represents a "universal Afro-American pattern" (Leone and Crosby 1987:408). By comparing the percentages of certain artifact categories from several known slave and free black sites, ranging from the eighteenth through the late nineteenth centuries, this question of Afro-American patterning can be addressed. The Dickson II Site can also be compared to other black occupations, as well as white-occupied sites.

When comparing the vessel assemblages among these different archaeological sites, it is important to systematically compare the frequencies of the vessel types among all sites to correctly assess their similarities and differences. Such systematic comparisons have not been part of past studies of the area (e.g. Thompson 1987), and, consequently these studies have tended to underestimate assemblage variability. In order to avoid this shortcoming, a difference-of-proportion test (Parsons 1974:445-449) was applied to paired combinations of the sites for each of the vessel categories. Two separate comparisons were conducted using the difference-of-proportion test. One dealt with the vessels in the following categories: hollowwares vs. flatwares, cups vs. mugs and jugs, and serving vs. preparation and storage vessels. The other test utilized information comparing dining, drinking, preparation and storage, medicinal, and "other" vessel categories. The difference-of-proportion test is applicable in this case because it does not require normally distributed data. Rather, the difference-of-proportion test is based on the fact that the sampling distribution of estimated sample proportions is normally distributed (Parsons 1974:433-436).

For the first series of comparisons, the comparison of percentages of flatware, hollowware, storage/preparation vessels, serving vessels, cups, mugs and jugs, Table 30 gives the percentage values and vessel frequencies for each category from the sites, and Table 31 shows all of the test statistics for each paired site comparison for each paired vessel category. Test statistic values greater than 1.96 indicate significant

TABLE 30

PERCENTAGE VALUES AND VESSEL FREQUENCIES

Site	Flatware	Hollowware	Prep/Storage	Serving	Cups	Mugs & Jugs
Dickson I	79(42%)	110(58%)	24(13%)	163(87%)	61(92%)	5(8%)
Dickson II	14(29%)	34(71%)	13(29%)	32(71%)	10(100%)	0(0%)
Heisler	108(38%)	173(62%)	28(18%)	132(83%)	60(97%)	2(3%)
Allen House	188(46%)	223(54%)	235(42%)	323(58%)	45(62%)	28(38%)
Black Lucy's Garden	29(59%)	20(41%)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Parting Ways	44(54%)	37(46%)	-------	-------	-------	-------
Weeksville A	-------	-------	306(43%)	404(57%)	-------	-------
Weeksville B	-------	-------	1000(81%)	235(19%)	-------	-------
North Quarter	23(26%)	66(74%)	34(27%)	91(73%)	26(62%)	16(38%)
Littletown	23(30%)	53(70%)	15(20%)	59(80%)	5(19%)	21(81%)
Kings mILL	63(34%)	123(66%)	23(15%)	134(85%)	20(31%)	44(69%)
Whitten Road	118(41%)	168(59%)	104(52%)	95(48%)	37(71%)	15(29%)

differences-of-proportion and it can be seen from Table 31 that there are a total of 148 significant differences among the vessel assemblages from among the sites. It should be noted here also that four of the assemblages, those from Black Lucy's Garden, Parting Ways, and the two periods from Weeksville (A and B), have only two categories for comparison: for Parting Ways and Black Lucy's Garden, only data for hollowwares and flatwares was available, and for the Weeksville assemblages, only serving vs. preparation and storage data.

Table 32 shows the frequencies of significant differences among each pair of sites. Lower values indicate which sites are most similar. As noted above, the sites of Black Lucy's Garden, Parting Ways, and Weeksville A and B only have two possible paired frequencies, so where two differences are noted in the site pairs, it is significant. Based on a simple count of the significant differences among vessel categories, it can be seen that three of the four Afro-American sites from the northeast (Black Lucy, Parting Ways, Weeksville A) are fairly similar, but Weeksville A and Weeksville B are significantly different from each other. Notably, Dickson II is significantly different from all of those sites too. The pairs of sites most similar are Dickson I and Heisler, Dickson II and Heisler, Dickson II and Weeksville A, and Kingsmill Quarter and Littletown Quarter. The Allen House assemblage is very similar to Black Lucy, Parting Ways, and Weeksville A. Table 33 provides a summary of the vessel categories which showed similarities among pairs of historic sites.

TABLE 31

TEST STATISTICS FOR PAIRED SITE COMPARISON

	DKI									
	DKII	**H**	**AH**	**BL**	**PW**	**WA**	**WB**	**NQ**	**L**	**KM**	**WR**
Flatware	1.6	.73	.9	2.2 *	1.9	--	--	2.6 *	1.7	1.6	.12
Hollow-ware	1.6	.73	.9	2.2 *	1.9	--	--	2.6 *	1.7	1.6	.12
Prep/ Storage	2.6 *	1.2	7.3 *	--	--	7.6 *	19.3 *	3.2 *	1.5	.49	8.2 *
Serving	2.6 *	1.2	7.3 *	--	--	7.6 *	19.3 *	3.2 *	1.5	.49	8.2 *
Cups	.9	1.1	4.3 *	--	--	--	--	3.9 *	7.0 *	7.2 *	3.1 *
Mugs & Jugs	.9	1.1	4.3 *	--	--	--	--	3.9 *	7.0 *	7.2 *	3.1 *

	DKII								
	H	**AH**	**BL**	**PW**	**WA**	**WB**	**NQ**	**L**	**KM**	**WR**
Flatware	1.2	2.2 *	3.0 *	2.8 *	--	--	.41	.13	.62	1.6
Hollowware	1.2	2.2 *	3.0 *	2.8 *	--	--	.41	.13	.62	1.6
Prep/ Storage	1.7	1.7	--	--	1.9	8.4 *	.22	1.1	2.2 *	2.8 *
Serving	1.7	1.7	--	--	1.9	8.4 *	.22	1.1	2.2 *	2.8 *
Cups	.58	2.4 *	--	--	--	--	2.3 *	4.4 *	4.1 *	2.0 *
Mugs & Jugs	.58	2.4 *	--	--	--	--	2.3 *	4.4 *	4.1 *	2.0 *

TABLE 31 (cont.)

	H								
	AH	**BL**	**PW**	**WA**	**WB**	**NQ**	**L**	**KM**	**WR**
Flatware	1.9	2.7 *	2.6 *	--	--	2.2 *	1.3	1.0	.69
Hollowware	1.9	2.7 *	2.6 *	--	--	2.2 *	1.3	1.0	.69
Prep/ Storage	5.7 *	--	--	6.0 *	17.2 *	2.0 *	.51	.70	6.8 *
Serving	5.7 *	--	--	6.0 *	17.2 *	2.0 *	.51	.70	6.8 *
Cups	4.9 *	--	--	--	--	4.6 *	7.6 *	7.6 *	3.8 *
Mugs & Jugs	4.9 *	--	--	--	--	4.6 *	7.6 *	7.6 *	3.8 *

	AH							
	BL	**PW**	**WA**	**WR**	**NQ**	**L**	**KM**	**WR**
Flatware	1.8	1.4	--	--	3.4 *	2.5 *	2.7 *	1.2
Hollowware	1.8	1.4	--	--	3.4 *	2.5 *	2.7 *	1.2
Prep/ Storage	--	--	.35	16.5 *	3.1 *	3.6 *	6.3 *	2.5 *
Serving	--	--	.35	16.5 *	3.1 *	3.6 *	6.3 *	2.5 *
Cups	--	--	--	--	2.8 *	3.7 *	3.6 *	7.1 *
Mugs & Jugs	--	--	--	--	2.8 *	3.7 *	3.6 *	7.1 *

TABLE 31 (cont.)

BL

	PW	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR
Flatware	.54	--	--	3.9 *	3.2 *	3.2 *	2.3 *
Hollowware	.54	--	--	3.9 *	3.2 *	3.2 *	2.3 *
Prep/ Storage	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Serving	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cups	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Mugs & Jugs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

PW

	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR	
Flatware		-- *	-- *	3.8 *	3.0 *	3.1	2.1
Hollowware		-- *	-- *	3.8 *	3.0 *	3.1	2.1
Prep/ Storage		--	--	--	--	--	--
Serving		--	--	--	--	--	--
Cups		--	--	--	--	--	--
Mugs & Jugs	--	--	--	--	--	--	

TABLE 31 (cont.)

WA

	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR	
Flatware		--	--	--	--	--
Hollowware		--	--	--	--	--
Prep/ Storage		7.1 *	3.3 *	3.8 *	6.6 *	2.3 *
Serving	*	7.1 *	3.3 *	3.8 *	6.6 *	2.3
Cups		--	--	--	--	--
Mugs & Jugs	--	-- --	-- --	--		

WB

	NQ	L	KM	WR		
Flatware	*	*	13.4 *	*	12.2	17.7 8.9
Hollowware	*		13.4 *	12.2 *	17.7 *	8.9
Prep/ Storage			--	--	--	--
Serving			--	--	--	--
Cups			--	--	--	--
Mugs & Jugs	--	--	-- --	--		

TABLE 31 (cont.)

	NQ L	KM	WR		L KM	WR
Flatware		.63	1.3 *	2.6		.56 1.7
Hollowware		.63	1.3 *	2.6		.56 1.7
Prep/ Storage		1.1	2.6 *	4.4 *		1.1 4.7 *
Serving		1.1 *	2.6 *	4.4		1.1 * 4.7
Cups	*	3.4 *	3.1	.95	*	1.2 4.3
Mugs & Jugs	3.4	3.1 *	.95 *		1.2 4.3	*

	KM WR
Flatware	1.6
Hollowware	1.6
Prep/ Storage	7.4 *
Serving *	7.4
Cups *	4.3
Mugs & Jugs	4.3 *

TABLE 32

FREQUENCIES OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AMONG SITE PAIRS

	DKI	DKII	H	AH	BL	PW	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR
DKI	--											
DKII	2	--										
H	0	0	--									
AH	4	4	4	--								
BL	2	2	2	0	--							
PW	0	2	2	0	0	--						
WA	2	0	2	0	0	0	--					
WB	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	--				
NQ	6	2	6	6	2	2	2	2	--			
L	2	2	2	6	2	2	2	2	2	--		
KM	2	4	2	6	2	2	2	2	4	0	--	
WR	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	--

At this point in the analysis it would appear that the Afro-American sites do share some significant ceramic vessel similarities, both through space and time. This observation must be qualified, however, because the slave quarters sites from Virginia apparently have no characteristics in common with the free black sites, suggesting that the presence of an "Afro-American Pattern" is lacking, particularly since even among themselves, the slave quarters sites, with the exception of Kingsmill to Littletown Quarter, share few traits. Locally, the similarities between Dickson I and Heisler were not unexpected: the Heisler Site occupants would seem to be from the "middling" class of regional inhabitants, the social group supplied by

TABLE 33

SUMMARY OF VESSEL CATEGORIES WHICH SHOWED SIMILARITIES AMONG PAIRED SITES

Flatware	Hollowware	Prep/ Storage	Serving	Cups	Mugs & Jugs
DKI/DKII	DKI/DKII	DKI/H	DKI/H	DKI/DKII	DKI/DKII
H	H	L	L	H	H
AH	AH	KM	KM		
PW	PW				
L	L				
KM	KM				
WR	WR				
DKII/H	DKII/H	DKII/H	DKII/H	DKII/H	DKII/H
NQ	NQ	AH	AH		
L	L	WA	WA		
KM	KM	NQ	NQ		
WR	WR	L	L		
H/AH	H/AH	H/L	H/L	H/-	H/-
L	L	KM	KM		
KM	KM				
WR	WR				
AH/BL	AH/BL	AH/WA	AH/WA	AH/-	AH/-
PW	PW				
WR	WR				
BL/PW	BL/PW	BL/-	BL/-	BL/-	BL/-
NQ/L	NQ/L	NQ/L	NQ/L	NQ/WR	NQ/WR
KM	KM				
L/KM	L/KM	L/KM	L/KM	L/KM	L/KM
WR	WR				
KM/WR	KM/WR				

KEY

DKI - Dickson I
DKII - Dickson II
H - Heisler
L - Littletown
AH - Allen House
KM - Kings Mill
PW - Parting Ways
WR - Whitten Road
NQ - North Quarter
WA - Weeksville A
BL - BLack Lucy's Garden

stores of Dickson's caliber. Dickson II's similarities with the Weeksville B assemblage is interesting, suggesting that the lifeways of late nineteenth century free blacks from the Middle Atlantic did share some common characteristics. Conversely, the close similarity between Dickson II and the Allen House, a middle class owner-occupied site in Christiana, is puzzling, and indicates that the similarities among the black sites are not exclusively Afro-American.

Similarities and differences between these archaeological assemblages can be shown by ranking the sites with respect to the frequencies of hollowwares, flatwares, storage/preparation, serving, cups, and mugs/jugs. Table 34 lists the rankings of these sites by categories of similar values and notes which sites can be grouped together or separated due to significant differences. In the flatware to hollowware comparison, the free black sites of Black Lucy's Garden and Parting Ways can be grouped with the Allen House as having the highest flatware ranking, while the slave site at North Quarter is the lowest. The hollowwares from the black sites of North Quarter, Dickson II, Littletown Quarter, and Kingsmill Quarter are grouped together as the highest proportions of hollowwares, which supports the views of Deetz (1977), Otto (1984) and others concerning the high percentage of bowls at black sites. However, the bottom of the ranking for hollowwares is where the free black sites of Parting Ways and Black Lucy's Garden are grouped, which tends to discount the hypothesis of a universal "Afro-American" pattern. The middle grouping of sites in these categories seems to suggest that a broad range of flatware to hollowware

TABLE 34

RANKING OF THE SITES BY CATEGORIES

Flatware	Hollowware	Prep/ Storage	Serving	Cups	Mugs & Jugs
BL	NQ	WB	DKI	DKII	LQ
PW	DKII		KM	H	KM
AH	LQ	WR	H	DKI	
	KM		LQ		AH
DKI		WA		WR	NQ
WR	H	AH	NQ	AH	
H	WR	DKII	DKII		WR
KM	DKI			NQ	
LQ	AH	NQ	AH		DKI
DKII		LQ	WA	KM	H
	PW			LQ	DKII
NQ	BL	H	WR		
		KM			
		DKI	WB		

proportions on domestic sites are likely to be encountered in the archaeological record, and show a mixing of slave, free black, domestic, and commercial sites. Overall the comparison of flatwares to hollowwares does not seem to be indicative of social standing, but may indeed be indicative of dietary patterns.

In the storage/preparation to serving vessels comparison, a similar jumbling of sites is shown. That the Dickson I assemblage should be clustered with two slave quarters and the Heisler Tenancy is unusual and difficult to explain. Slave sites and free black sites are intermixed with white tenant sites and owner-occupied sites, suggesting that a comparison of these vessel types is of little use in determining overall site function, or status.

The most useful and perhaps valid comparison that can be made between these vessel categories is in the final comparison of cups to mugs and jugs. As with Spencer-Wood and Heberling's

(1987:79) observation of the Miller analysis the cup and saucer index is the most useful in determining relative site status, the comparison of these vessel forms also appears to accurately reflect the true social conditions of the sites' inhabitants. The slave quarters sites group is near the bottom of the cups category, while the Allen House and Whitten Road Sites occupy a middle location, and the three Patterson Lane Complex Sites rank at the upper end in a cluster. The mugs and jugs category is similar, with only slight alterations in the groups, most notably the shift in the pairing of the Allen House and the Whitten Road assemblages.

Table 35 presents the frequency with which each pair of sites were grouped together in Table 34. The most similar sites shown are Dickson I and Heisler which were paired together all six times. These pairings are consistent with earlier results (Table 32). Kingsmill Quarter and Littletown Quarter shared five of six similarities, and Parting Ways and Black Lucy's Garden were paired. For the most part, the results shown in Table 35 are consistent with those seen in Table 32, and are mutually supportive.

A second series of difference-of-proportion tests were accomplished for the Patterson Lane Complex Sites, this time investigating the ratios of dining, drinking, preparation/ storage, medicinal, and other ceramic vessel categories. Where the previous comparisons shown above examined specific sets of data, such as proportions of flatwares to hollowwares, this comparison can provide a different perspective of a site's

TABLE 35

RANKED PAIRED FREQUENCIES OF PAIRED SITES

DKI	--											
DKII	3	--										
H	6	3	--									
AH	1	1	1	--								
BL	0	0	0	1	--							
PW	0	0	0	1	2	--						
WA	0	1	0	2	NDA	NDA	--					
WB	0	0	0	0	NDA	NDA	0	--				
NQ	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	--			
L	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	--		
KM	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	--	
WR	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	--
	DKI	DKII	H	AH	BL	PW	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR

ceramic assemblage, and thus may be useful, in conjunction with the other levels of analysis, in site interpretations.

The sites chosen for this comparison varied somewhat from those used in the previous study. The Patterson Lane Site Complex, as well as the Whitten Road Site and the Charles Allen House were once again used, but this time data for the Cannon's Point slave, overseer, and planter (Otto 1984), and four of the site areas, A through D, from the rural black community of Skunk Hollow (Geismar 1982) were obtained. These later sites, along with the Dickson II and the Cannon's Point slave assemblages,

can be of use in again examining the issue of an Afro-American pattern. The Delaware sites represent local rural and semi-rural domestic and commercial sites of the lower through middle class, while the Cannon's Point Sites provide temporally similar occupations from middle and upper class sites.

Table 36 shows the percentage values and vessel frequencies for each of the functional categories from the sites, and Table 37 shows all of the test statistics for each paired site comparison and each paired functional category. As with the first series of difference-of-proportion tests discussed above, a test statistic value greater than 1.96 indicates significant differences of proportion. Table 37 shows that there are 126 significant differences between functional categories between the sites, out of a possible 306 pairings.

Table 38 presents the frequencies of significant differences among each pair of sites; lower values indicate which site pairs are most similar. Several significant similar pairs are shown. The Dickson II Site in Christiana shows no differences with the four Skunk Hollow Site areas, and the Heisler Site is also similar to Skunk Hollow B. Among themselves, Skunk Hollow Area A and Area B are significantly alike, while Area B shares similarities with Area C. The pair of sites that are most dissimilar are the Cannon's Point Overseer's assemblage, and the Dickson I assemblage. These values suggest that there are shared traits in common between the black sites in the northeast, which although also seen at the Heisler, have more in common with each other than with white tenant sites or the Cannon's Point Slave

TABLE 36

PERCENTAGE VALUES AND VESSEL FREQUENCIES

Sites	Dining	Drinking	Food Prep/Storage	Medicinal	Other
Dickson I	107(57%)	56(30%)	24(13%)	0(0%)	1(.5%)
Dickson II	22(45%)	10(20%)	13(27%)	2(4%)	2(4%)
Heisler	108(65%)	24(14%)	28(17%)	7(4%)	0(0%)
Allen House	188(33%)	135(23%)	235(41%)	20(4%)	0(0%)
Whitten Road	85(27%)	71(23%)	145(47%)	9(3%)	0(0%)
Cannon's Pt. Slave	80(62%)	26(20%)	9(7%)	4(3%)	11(9%)
Skunk Hollow A	53(50%)	28(26%)	18(17%)	5(5%)	2(2%)
Skunk Hollow B	103(54%)	37(20%)	40(21%)	7(4%)	----
Skunk Hollow C	21(41%)	11(22%)	16(31%)	5(10%)	1(2%)
Skunk Hollow D	21(37%)	12(21%)	18(32%)	6(11%)	----
Connor's Pt. Overseer	78(57%)	42(31%)	6(4%)	3(2%)	8(6%)
Connor's Pt. Planter	161(52%)	83(27%)	39(13%)	9(3%)	19(6%)

Site. The most interesting of the similar sites are the Whitten Road Site, and the Allen House, both in the vicinity of Christiana, but supposedly of different social rankings. Table 39 summarizes the vessel categories and illustrates the similarities among pairs of historic sites.

Table 40 shows the similarities and differences between these archaeological ceramic assemblages by ranking the sites

TABLE 37

SUMMARY OF DIFFERENCE-OF-PROPORTION TESTS

Variable	Site Combination										
	DKI DKII	H	AH	WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	1.5	1.49	5.97 *	6.56 *	.82	1.14	.53	2.0 *	2.66 *	3.49 *	1.12
Drinking	1.30	3.47 *	1.77	1.71	1.96 *	.62	2.33 *	1.16	1.29	.17	.75
Food Prep/ Storage	2.36 *	1.06	7.02 *	7.77 *	1.68	.99	2.15 *	3.16 *	3.30 *	2.58 *	.08
Medicinal	2.78 *	2.84 *	2.59 *	2.36 *	2.42 *	3.00 *	2.66 *	4.34 *	4.50 *	2.04 *	2.35 *
Other	1.98 *	.94	1.75	1.28	3.65 *	1.11	----	.99	----	2.88 *	3.08 *

TABLE 37 (cont.)

Variable	Site Combination									
	DKIIH	AH	WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	2.46 *	1.76	2.49 *	2.01 *	.59	1.16	.38	.84	1.45	.89
Drinking	1.02	.47	.39	.06	.81	.15	.14	.08	1.37	.93
Food Prep/ Storage	1.53	1.94	2.65 *	3.56 *	1.38	.82	.53	.57	4.39 *	2.59 *
Medicinal	3.39 *	4.87 *	3.57 *	.33	.18	.13	1.12	1.25	.70	.45
Other	2.62 *	4.87 *	3.57 *	1.01	1.27	----	.62	----	.47	.56

Variable	Site Combination								
	HAH	WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	7.48 *	7.9 *	.56	2.4 *	2.01 *	2.99 *	3.67 *	1.38	2.71 *
Drinking	2.50 *	2.23 *	1.29	2.47 *	1.28	1.23	1.19	3.43 *	3.08 *
Food Prep/ Storage	5.70 *	6.50 *	2.55 *	.05	1.03	2.28 *	2.39 *	3.41 *	1.27
Medicinal	.45	.75	.51	.21	.25	1.54	1.77	.97	.75
Other	1.70	1.70	3.83 *	1.78	----	1.81	----	3.17 *	3.26 *

TABLE 37 (cont.)

Variable	Site Combination							
	AH WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	1.57	6.16 *	3.46 *	5.35 *	1.26	.66	5.31 *	5.60 *
Drinking	.15	.83	.68	1.11	.29	.39	1.78	1.10
Food Prep/ Storage	1.76	7.31 *	4.64 *	4.89 *	1.30	6.34 *	8.08 *	8.66 *
Medicinal	.45	.22	.63	.15	2.22 *	2.57 *	.76	.45
Other	1.70	7.05 *	3.31 *	----	3.37 *	----	5.84 *	6.01 *

Variable	Site Combination						
	WR CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	6.75 *	4.26 *	6.00 *	2.00 *	1.44	5.98 *	6.20 *
Drinking	.67	.73	.91	.21	.31	1.74	1.09
Food Prep/ Storage	8.0 *	5.42 *	5.78 *	2.05 *	2.12 *	8.74 *	9.34 *
Medicinal	.098	.71	1.31	.65	.84	1.87	1.95
Other	5.19 *	2.42 *	----	2.47 *	----	4.29 *	4.42 *

TABLE 37 (cont.)

Variable	Site Combination					
	CPS SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	1.77	1.30	2.48 *	3.12 *	.77	1.88
Drinking	1.17	.12	.24	.16	2.00 *	6.16 *
Food Prep/ Storage	2.42 *	3.45 *	4.29 *	4.42 *	.90	1.73
Medicinal	.65	.29	1.87	2.08 *	.45	.10
Other	2.20 *	----	1.58	----	.84	.90

Variable	Site Combination				
	SHA SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	.70	1.04	1.61	1.08	.32
Drinking	1.38	.66	.76	.72	5.49 *
Food Prep/ Storage	.85	2.05 *	2.14 *	3.27 *	1.15
Medicinal	.43	1.22	1.41	1.10	.90
Other	----	.03	----	1.54	.89

TABLE 37 (cont.)

Variable	Site Combination			
	SHB SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	1.65	2.30 *	.489	.53
Drinking	.33	.26	2.33 *	1.84
Food Prep/ Storage	1.55	1.64	4.28 *	2.54 *
Medicinal	1.78	2.03 *	.77	.49
Other	----	----	----	----

Variable	Site Combination		
	SHC SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	.46	1.92	1.40
Drinking	6.54 *	1.23	.77
Food Prep/ Storage	2.31 *	5.12 *	3.47 *
Medicinal	.12	2.30 *	2.37 *
Other	----	1.11	1.20

Variable	Site Combination	
	SHD CPO	CPP
Dining	2.55 *	2.07 *
Drinking	1.36	.89
Food Prep/ Storage	5.24 *	3.65 *
Medicinal	2.52 *	2.68 *
Other	--	--

Variable	Site Combination
	CPO CPP
Dining	1.01
Drinking	.86
Food Prep/ Storage	2.65 *
Medicinal	.43
Other	.11

TABLE 38

FREQUENCY OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AMONG SITE PAIRS

	DKI	DKII	H	AH	WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
DKI	--											
DKII	3	--										
H	2	3	--									
AH	3	1	3	--								
WR	3	3	3	0	--							
CPS	3	2	2	3	3	--						
SHA	1	0	2	3	3	1	--					
SHB	3	0	0	2	2	1	0	--				
SHC	3	0	2	1	3	2	1	0	--			
SHD	3	0	2	1	1	3	1	2	2	--		
CPO	4	1	3	3	3	1	1	2	2	3	--	
CPP	2	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	3	1	--

KEY

Larger number = More similar

with respect to the frequencies of dining, drinking, preparation/storage, medicinal, and other functional categories, and notes which sites can be grouped together because of significant differences. Table 41 shows the frequency with which each pair of sites was grouped together in Table 40. The most interesting grouping and the sites that paired most often were Whitten Road and the Allen House (five out of five pairs). This outcome supports the results shown in Table 38, and indicates that despite appearances, these sites, and by inference the site's occupants, were quite similar, even though one was a low status tenant farmer, and the other a well-off small landholder.

TABLE 39

SUMMARY OF VESSEL CATEGORIES WHICH SHOWED SIMILARITIES AMONG PAIRED SITES

Dining	Drinking	Food Prep/Storage	Medicinal	Other
DKI/DKII	DKI/DKII	DKI/H	DKII/AH	DKI/H
H	AH	CPS	WR	AH
CPS	WR	SHA	CPS	WR
SHA	SHA	CPP	SHA	SHA
SHB	SHC		SHB	SHC
CPP	SHD	DKII/H	SHC	
	CPO	AH	SHD	H/AH
DKII/AH	CPP	SHA	CPO	WR
SHA		SHB	CPP	SHA
SHB	DKII/H	SHC		SHC
SHC	AH	SHD	H/CPS	
SHD	WR		SHA	AH/WR
CPO	CPS	AH/WR	SHB	
CPP	SHA	SHC	SHC	DKII/CPS
	SHB	SHD	SHC	SHA
WR/SHD	SHC		CPO	SHC
	SHD	H/SHA	CPP	CPO
AH/WR	CPO	SHB	AH	CPP
SHC	CPP	CPP	WR	
SHD				CPS/SHA
	AH/WR	CPS/CPO	AH/WR	SHC
CPS/SHA	CPS	CPP	CPS	CPO
SHB	SHA		SHA	CPP
CPO	SHB	SHA/SHB	SHB	
CPP	SHC	CPP	SHC	SHA/SHC
	SHD		CPO	CPO
SHA/SHB	CPO	SHB/SHC	CPP	CPP
SHC	CPP	SHD		
SHD			WR/CPS	SHC/CPO
CPO	H/CPS		SHA	CPP
CPP	SHB		SHB	
	SHC		SHC	CPO/CPP
SHB/SHC	SHD		SHD	
CPO			CPO	
CPP	WR/CPS		CPP	
	SHA			
SHC/SHD	SHB		SHB/SHC	
CPO	SHC		SHD	
CPP	SHD			
	CPO		CPS/SHA	
CPO/CPP	CPP		SHB	
			SHC	
H/CPS	CPS/SHA		CPO	
SHB	SHB		CPP	
CPO	SHC			
	SHD			

TABLE 39 (cont.)

Dining	Drinking	Food Prep/Storage	Medicinal	Other
	SHA/SHB		SHA/SHB	
	SHC		SHC	
	SHD		SHD	
	CPO		CPO	
			CPP	
	SHB/SHC			
	SHD			
	CPP			
	SHC/CPO			
	CPP			
	SHD/CPO			
	CPP			
	CPO/CPP			

Examining the functional categories for the ranking of Dickson I, it can be seen that the site pairs with the Cannon's Point Slave and the Heisler assemblage in the dining category, and with the other Cannon's Point Sites in the drinking category. The site is ranked near the bottom of the preparation/storage functional category with the Cannon's Point Slave Site, and stands alone in the medicinal category. Excluding the slave site from the dining category for the moment, due to the acquisition method used by the slaves to obtain ceramics as demonstrated by Otto (1984), the placement of the Dickson I Site, and the sites with which it ranks, seem to be accurate reflections of the historic record. Dickson I had no medicinal ware found at the site, suggesting a non-domestic feature, and the site's occupation as a storehouse could easily account for the ranking of dining and drinking vessels with middle to upper status sites. Conversely, Dickson I is ranked low in the more

TABLE 40

RANKING THE SITES BY CATEGORIES

Dining	Drinking	Food Prep/Storage	Medicinal	Other
H	CPO	WR	SHD	CPS
CPS	DKI	AH	SHC	CPP
DKI	CPP		SHA	CPO
		SHD	DKII	DKII
CPO	SHA	SHC		SHC
			H	
SHB	AH	DKII		SHA
CPP	WR	SHB	AH	
SHA	SHC	SHA	SHB	DKI
DKII		H	CPP	AH
SHC	SHD		WR	WR
		CPP	CPS	H
SHD	DKII		CPO	
	CPS	DKI		
AH	SHB	CPS	DKI	
WR	H			
		CPO		

utilitarian ware category of preparation/storage, again a function of the site's storehouse status. The pairing with the Cannon's Point Slave Site in this category occurred because of the lack of utilitarian wares at that site, which could have been made up of non-ceramic vessels.

The Dickson II Site consistently pairs with several of the Skunk Hollow Site areas throughout the table, again indicating that these sites shared considerable ceramic assemblage traits. Most notable are the pairings with Skunk Hollow A and C in the dining and medicinal categories, and with Skunk Hollow A in the preparation/storage category, and Skunk Hollow C in the drinking category. These pairings suggest both similarities in the artifact assemblages on an intersite level (i.e., Dickson II to Skunk Hollow A), and on a more local, or intrasite level, between

TABLE 41

RANKED PAIR FREQUENCIES OF PAIRED SITES

DKI	--											
DKII	0	--										
H	2	2	--									
AH	1	0	1	--								
WR	1	0	1	5	--							
CPS	2	2	2	1	1	--						
SHA	0	3	1	0	0	0	--					
SHB	0	2	2	1	1	2	2	--				
SHC	0	3	0	1	1	1	2	1	--			
SHD	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	--		
CPO	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	--	
CPP	1	2	0	1	1	2	1	2	2	0	3	--
	DKI	DKII	H	AH	WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP

sites within Skunk Hollow. These relative rankings were noted in the Hollow by Geismar (1982).

The Heisler Site does not consistently pair with any of the other sites more often than two times, and one of these is in the dining category of the Cannon's Point Slave Site, a dubious comparison for the same reason here as for Dickson I. The other pairing occurs in with the Skunk Hollow Area B Site in the dining and drinking categories. This conclusion may indicate that what is being examined here between artifact assemblages are not questions of ethnicity, but of status; it would seem that black and white tenant sites shared similar traits regardless of who the inhabitants were.

Overall, the conclusions and interpretations that can be made about the Patterson Lane Site Complex regarding status and social ranking are mutually supported by the architectural analysis, the Miller economic scaling, and the examination of proportional differences between ceramic vessel assemblages on intra- and inter-regional levels. Taken together, each of these different forms of site analyses provide a more detailed image of the "Place at Christeen".

The Dickson I occupation is fairly distinctive architecturally and through analysis of its ceramic assemblage. The site seems to have catered to middle class farmers and tradesmen of the Christiana Bridge vicinity, as evidenced by its relatively low Miller Index ranking. The ceramic vessel assemblage was weighted in favor of dining and drinking vessels, obviously for supply to the local market, and fewer utilitarian vessel types, such as storage bowls and chamber pots, were present. Not shown in the vessel assemblage for the Dickson I Site, nor for any of the sites examined, was the proportion of non-ceramic vessels within households, particularly in the preparation/storage categories. The storehouse inventory of William Dickson and other New Castle County merchants would suggest that this ratio of other vessel types may have been quite high.

Building dimensions, site land use evidence, and examination of the artifact assemblage for both vessels and status indicate that the Heisler Tenancy Site was in the middle class range. The ceramic assemblage and the Miller index identify the Heisler Site

as a domestic occupation, with similarities between other local domestic sites. This site's ceramic assemblage closely resembles the kinds of goods available at the local stores, such as Dickson I, supporting the view of the site's inhabitants as of the "middling sort".

While sharing characteristics similar to other black-occupied sites in the region, the Dickson II occupation was also similar to local tenant sites. Architecturally, the footprint of Structure A, and the lack of outbuildings support the tenant view of the occupation, and the ceramic assemblage identified the site as a domestic occupation, with perhaps some evidence of low level labor (i.e., sewing or rag-picking).

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

The Phase I and II archaeological investigations of the Patterson Lane Site Complex identified three historic sites within the limits of the proposed ROW. Phase II investigations were conducted on all three sites to determine the cultural integrity of the archaeological deposits and to determine whether the sites were eligible for inclusion in the National Register.

PATTERSON LANE SITE (7NC-E-53)

The Patterson Lane Site (7NC-E-53) was the dwelling of John Read, a prominent merchant and the father of George Read, one of Delaware's signers of the Declaration of Independence. The site was originally occupied in the early-to-mid-eighteenth century by the Reads, and functioned as a domestic site, and as the location of an active and important wharf, store, and landing. The site was continuously occupied throughout the nineteenth century,